UNITED
NATIONS

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Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/PV.3180
3 March 1993

ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTIETH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Wednesday, 3 March 1993, at 8.25 p.m.

President:	Mr. McKINNON	(New Zealand)
Members:	Brazil	Mr. SARDENBERG
	Cape Verde	Mr. PEREIRA
	China	Mr. ZHANG Yan
	Djibouti	Mr. OLHAYE
	France	Mr. LADSOUS
	Hungary	Mr. ERDOS
	Japan	Mr. SHIGEIE
	Morocco	Mr. ZAHID
	Pakistan	Mr. KHAN
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	Spain	Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. WOOD
	United States of America	Ms. ALBRIGHT
	Venezuela	Mr. ARRIA

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93-85334 3857V (E)

The meeting was called to order at 8.50 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

LETTER DATED 3 MARCH 1993 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/25353)

LETTER DATED 3 MARCH 1993 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/25358)

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Sacirbey (Bosnia and Herzegovina) took a place at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in response to the requests contained in letters dated 3 March 1993 from the Permanent Representatives of the United States of America and Bosnia and Herzegovina to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, documents S/25353 and S/25358, respectively.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council, recalling all its relevant resolutions and statements, expresses its grave concern at and condemns the continuing unacceptable military attacks in eastern Bosnia and the resulting deterioration in the humanitarian situation in that region. It is appalled that even as peace talks are continuing attacks by Serb paramilitary units, including, reportedly, the killings of innocent civilians, continue in eastern Bosnia. In this connection, the Security Council is particularly concerned about the fall of the town of Cerska and the imminent fall of neighbouring villages. The Security Council demands that the killings and atrocities must stop and reaffirms that those guilty of crimes against international humanitarian law will be held individually responsible by the world community.

"The Security Council demands that the leaders of all the parties to the conflict in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina remain fully engaged in New York in a sustained effort with the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia to reach quickly a fair and workable settlement. In this connection, the Security Council also demands that all sides immediately

(The President)

cease all forms of military action throughout the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, cease acts of violence against civilians, comply with their previous commitments, including the cease-fire, and redouble their efforts to settle the conflict.

"The Security Council further demands that the Bosnian Serb side, as well as all other parties, refrain from taking any action which might endanger the lives and well-being of the inhabitants of eastern Bosnia, particularly in the areas near the town of Cerska, and that all concerned allow the unimpeded access of humanitarian relief supplies throughout the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, especially humanitarian access to the besieged cities of eastern Bosnia, and permit the evacuation of the wounded.

"Having determined in the relevant resolutions that this situation constitutes a threat to international peace and security, the Security Council insists that these steps must be taken immediately.

"The Security Council also requests the Secretary-General to take immediate steps to increase UNPROFOR's presence in eastern Bosnia.

"The Security Council remains seized of the matter and is ready to meet at any moment to consider further action."

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 8.55 p.m.

UNITED
NATIONS

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Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/PV.3181
8 March 1993

ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-FIRST MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Monday, 8 March 1993, at 4.05 p.m.

President:	Mr. McKINNON	(New Zealand)
Members:	Brazil	Mr. SARDENBERG
	Cape Verde	Mr. JESUS
	China	Mr. CHEN Jian
	Djibouti	Mr. OLHAYE
	France	Mr. LADSOUS
	Hungary	Mr. ERDOS
	Japan	Mr. HATANO
	Morocco	Mr. SNOUSSI
	Pakistan	Mr. MARKER
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	Spain	Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Ms. ALBRIGHT
	Venezuela	Mr. ARRIA

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93-85397 3875V (E)

The meeting was called to order at 4.05 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN CAMBODIA

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 792 (1992) (S/25289)

The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Security Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of Security Council resolution 792 (1992), which is contained in document S/25289.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/25376, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to the following additional documents: S/25133, letter dated 20 January 1993 from the Permanent Representative of Singapore to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; and S/25366, letter dated 4 March 1993 from the Permanent Representative of Viet Nam to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.

It is my understanding that the Security Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that that is the case.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

(The President)

Before putting the draft resolution to the vote, I shall call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. LADSOUS (France) (interpretation from French): My delegation welcomes the prospective adoption of the draft resolution before the Council. The draft resolution focuses primarily on the elections in Cambodia, which constitute the cornerstone of the peace process and one of the central purposes of the Paris Agreements, which created the most ambitious United Nations operation in history. It is therefore essential at this stage that the Security Council act unanimously.

First of all, we welcome the compliance with the timetable established for the elections; my delegation reaffirms its full confidence in the ability of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), which has already done remarkable work, to organize truly free and fair elections.

In our view, the draft resolution will send a clear political signal to all the Cambodian parties: they have no choice but to respect the rules of democracy. No use of violence will be tolerated. The Security Council will endorse the outcome of the elections - if, of course, they are declared by the United Nations to have been free and fair - and the Council will continue to lend its support to the constituent assembly that will emerge from the elections, and to the process of drafting a constitution and of putting in place a Government for all of Cambodia.

The international community will then help the authorities who will have been constitutionally put in office. That means a long-term commitment from the international community and the Security Council. We cannot, therefore, be indifferent to what happens in Cambodia following the elections.

(Mr. Ladsous, France)

We also want firmly to remind all the Cambodian parties that they have undertaken to respect the outcome of the elections; we urge them to do so.

The election campaign will begin in a few weeks. We remain gravely concerned by the acts of violence and intimidation in the country. We therefore appeal for tolerance, moderation and political maturity on the part of the people and the leaders of the Cambodian parties, so the elections can take place in the neutral political climate specified and required by the Paris Agreements.

My delegation fully endorses the Secretary-General's reminder that the Cambodians themselves bear the primary responsibility to restore peace and stability in Cambodia. That is no less true today than it will be tomorrow. The United Nations intervened at the request of the Cambodians themselves, and it can in no case replace them if their political will should flag.

Sir David HANNAY (United Kingdom): I should like to take this opportunity, Sir, slightly belatedly, to congratulate you on having assumed the presidency of the Security Council, and to thank your predecessor, Ambassador Snoussi, for the remarkable way in which he chaired the Council in an extremely busy month - even if it was the shortest month of the year.

My delegation very warmly welcomes the draft resolution before us. In particular, it welcomes the Council's endorsement of the dates set for the constituent assembly election by the Supreme National Council (SNC). This is an absolutely key element in the implementation of the Paris Agreements, and we were particularly pleased that it was possible to reach this agreement in the SNC and that it will now be endorsed by the Security Council. This will be the first election ever entirely organized by the United Nations, and it is very good that it is being held on time as planned under the Paris Agreements, despite all the difficulties there have been in implementing those Agreements.

My delegation would also like to congratulate the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) on the work it has done up to now. There has been a major success in electoral registration, as the Secretary-General's report reminds us, and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees has also done a remarkable job in repatriating a very large number of the refugees who have spent so many years on the Thai-Cambodian border.

But, of course, much remains to be done if the Paris Agreements are to be implemented as fully as possible. It is essential that every step be taken to prevent intimidation of political parties in the electoral process. We rely very much on UNTAC's redoubling its efforts in that sense.

It is important that all the parties should work for a successful outcome of the elections, and should not disrupt UNTAC's work in the next few months.

(Sir David Hannay, United Kingdom)

In that respect, the detention of a number of UNTAC military and civilian personnel by the Khmer Rouge has been particularly reprehensible. We hope it will not be repeated in the next few weeks before the elections.

In the same context, we were extremely disturbed by the evidence of Vietnamese personnel - small in numbers, admittedly - remaining in the State of Cambodia's armed forces.

All parties are obliged under the Paris Agreements to respect the holding of free and fair elections and to respect their outcome. We are delighted that the Council is thus stating that it will itself do its best not only to make those elections a success, but the process that comes out of them successful, too.

Ultimately it is for the Cambodians themselves to bring about reconciliation and prepare the ground for the future of their country. It is crucially important that the constituent assembly, once elected, completes its task of drafting a new constitution and creating a new Government in the time allocated for it - three months.

Of course, we recognize that the situation between the election of the constituent assembly and the formation of a new Government will be particularly uncertain and fragile, and that this is of course accentuated by the fact that the Khmer Rouge have chosen to exclude themselves from this part of the Paris process. We therefore look forward to the Secretary-General's recommendations on how best to get through this period while preserving intact the whole process agreed at Paris.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the United Kingdom for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. CHEN Jian (China) (interpretation from Chinese): First of all, Sir, I would like to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of March. I am confident that with your rich diplomatic experience and talent, you will successfully guide the work of the Security Council this month. I also wish to take this opportunity to thank your predecessor, His Excellency Mr. Snoussi, Ambassador of Morocco, who steered the work of the Security Council last month with remarkable skill.

China has consistently advocated the comprehensive implementation of the Paris Agreements on the question of Cambodia and the realization of Cambodia's national reconciliation. The Paris Agreements are the results of the concerted efforts of the various Cambodian parties as well as the international community, and constitute, therefore, the foundation for the comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodian question. Only when the Paris Agreements are comprehensively implemented, and when all the Cambodian parties participate fully in the peace process, can the success of the peace process in Cambodia be guaranteed.

With regard to the difficulties and differences arising from the implementation of the Paris Agreements, we always hold that they should be resolved by the joint efforts of the parties concerned through consultation and dialogue. We are not in favour of any act that runs counter to the Paris Agreements. We hope that the peaceful settlement of the Cambodian question and genuine national reconciliation will be achieved through the joint endeavour of all the Cambodian parties under the guidance of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) and the leadership of Prince Sihanouk.

(Mr. Chen Jian, China)

It is an important step in the Cambodian peace process to hold the constituent assembly election in accordance with the Paris Agreements. In our view, the establishment of a neutral political environment is a key factor in ensuring a free and fair election in Cambodia. We have noted that certain progress has been made in the preparation for the election in Cambodia. However, it is regrettable that, as rightly pointed out by the Secretary-General in his report, politically motivated violence has been occurring continuously and that a neutral political environment is yet to be established. We urge UNTAC to take all practical and effective measures to create the necessary neutral political environment so as to ensure the conduct of a free and fair election. We call on the various Cambodian parties to make positive efforts towards this end.

The question of how to maintain peace in Cambodia after the election in May and how to build an independent, sovereign, unified, peaceful and neutral Cambodia is of universal concern. China neither wishes to see the recurrence of civil war in Cambodia nor supports any party in resorting to force. What we stand for is the realization of genuine national reconciliation. We believe that at this important juncture in Cambodian history Prince Sihanouk, as the leader of the Cambodian people, will play an important role in achieving peace and national reconciliation. We also hope that the endeavours of the international community will be conducive to the realization of this objective.

Based on the position I have stated, the Chinese delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution before us.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of China for the kind words he addressed to me.

I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/25376.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Brazil, Cape Verde, China, Djibouti, France, Hungary, Japan, Morocco, New Zealand, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela

The PRESIDENT: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has therefore been adopted unanimously as resolution 810 (1993).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Ms. ALBRIGHT (United States of America): Let me join those who have congratulated you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council; I look forward very much to working with you. Let me also give very warm congratulations to Ambassador Snoussi for his remarkable leadership of the Council last month.

The United States is pleased to vote in favour of this resolution, which marks another milestone towards achieving the major goal of the Paris Agreements. That milestone is allowing the Cambodian people to determine their own destiny through the conduct of free and fair elections. Despite the many problems, great progress has been made towards this goal.

We urge all parties to desist from further cease-fire violations and to halt immediately any attacks upon or detentions of United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) personnel. We call on all parties to cooperate

(Ms. Albright, United States)

fully with UNTAC to ensure that political intimidation and violence are ended and to establish a neutral political environment necessary for the conduct of free and fair elections.

The United States notes that the holding of elections in May will be only one step towards the ultimate goal of creating a peaceful, democratic Cambodia. For elections to be successful and national reconciliation to occur, all of the Cambodian parties must be prepared to respect the results. We call upon all the parties to put aside the animosity that has divided them and caused the Cambodian people such suffering and hardship.

In voting for the resolution, we are committing ourselves to supporting only the Government that will emerge from the elections as the sole legitimate authority for all of Cambodia.

Finally, the United States would like to pay tribute to the President of the Supreme National Council, Prince Sihanouk, and Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General Yasushi Akashi for their invaluable contributions towards the cause of peace and democracy in Cambodia. We also would like to express our respect and admiration for the men and women of UNTAC, and for the Cambodian people, who have shown through their participation and actions their desire for a peaceful. independent and democratic Cambodia.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the United States for the kind words she addressed to me.

Mr. HATANO (Japan): Since this is the first time I am addressing the Council this month, let me express to you, Sir, my warmest congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of March. I

(Mr. Hatano, Japan)

should also like to express the gratitude of my delegation to Ambassador Ahmed Snoussi for the exemplary manner in which he guided the business of the Council during the month of February.

Japan would like to express its satisfaction at the unanimous adoption of the resolution, which will facilitate the Cambodian peace process as it enters a very critical phase. Significant progress has been made in the implementation of the Paris Agreements in spite of the difficult situation still prevailing in Cambodia. I refer in particular to the national voter registration campaign, which has been very successful, and the repatriation of refugees, which has proceeded much more smoothly than had been originally anticipated.

It is clear that such achievements are due in no small measure to the commitment and energy that the Secretary-General and his Special Representative have brought to their awesome tasks. Japan pays high tribute to the Secretary-General and his personal representative and reiterates its strong support as they continue to work for peace in Cambodia.

This resolution contains a number of important elements which address, in a constructive manner, those issues that have arisen in the course of the peace process. One to which Japan attaches particular importance is the decision of the Supreme National Council to endorse the conduct of an election from 23 to 27 May 1993. Japan hopes that the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) will continue to take every necessary measure to create and maintain a neutral political environment.

As stated in the resolution, the Security Council will endorse the result of the election, provided it has been certified as free and fair by the United Nations, and will support the constituent assembly to be established accordingly.

(Mr. Hatano, Japan)

Japan takes this opportunity to appeal to all Cambodian parties to likewise respect the outcome of the election, which is fundamental to the restoration of peace and stability in Cambodia.

The safety and security of UNTAC personnel is a source of continuing concern to Japan. We therefore reiterate the Council's demand that all parties make every effort to safeguard the lives of UNTAC personnel throughout Cambodia and to ensure that no hostile action will be taken against them.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Japan for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. VORONTSOV (Russian Federation) (interpretation from Russian): The Russian delegation welcomes the unanimous adoption by the Security Council of a resolution intended to ensure the successful completion of the United Nations operation in Cambodia. We consider it especially important to achieve consensus on such issues as support for the holding of elections in Cambodia within the timetable set up by the Supreme National Council - 23 to 27 May - and the preparedness of the Council to support fully the constituent assembly, the constitution it is to draft and the formation of a new government for all of Cambodia.

We value highly the efforts of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) in fulfilling its mandate pursuant to the Paris Agreements, in spite of certain substantial difficulties relating in particular to Democratic Kampuchea's non-compliance with its obligations under the Paris Agreements, inter alia, with regard to participation in elections for a constituent assembly.

Today, with so little time remaining before the May elections, it is important to support and enhance the positive dynamic in the pre-election

(Mr. Vorontsov, Russian Federation)

process and to ensure a neutral political environment and cooperation by all Cambodian factions with UNTAC in achieving the basic objectives of the Paris Agreements.

With regard to UNTAC's finding of three persons who are covered by the recently adopted new UNTAC definition of foreign military personnel, we believe that this question, which has been raised here, will not be of great importance and that this so-called three-person problem will be successfully resolved by the Cambodian parties themselves.

(Mr. Vorontsov, Russian Federation)

We believe that at the current stage the question of the safety of UNTAC and all international personnel in Cambodia takes on special significance. In this connection, we emphasize the responsibility of all the Cambodian factions to ensure normal conditions for UNTAC activities.

It is also important to give priority attention to the problems involved in the maintenance of security in the country during the post-election period, before the formation of the country's new Government and the completion of UNTAC's mandate. We welcome the intention of the Secretary-General to submit recommendations to the Council in that regard.

In conclusion, I wish to emphasize our readiness to cooperate with all the parties to the Paris Agreements in the successful completion of its full implementation.

The PRESIDENT: I should now like to make a brief statement in my capacity as representative of New Zealand.

New Zealand welcomes the adoption of this resolution by the Council. Cambodia is of special importance to the countries of the Asia-Pacific region, and it is thus an issue to which New Zealand attaches great weight.

The discharge of the United Nations role in Cambodia involves the participation of a very large number of countries, including many which are not at present Council members. The Council's management of the peace process on behalf of the United Nations must accordingly, in our view, take account of the perspectives of the wider membership, especially those countries with personnel in Cambodia. This will be even more important as, with the support of all Cambodian parties, the peace process and the United Nations involvement in it come to an end.

(The President)

The task assigned to the United Nations in Cambodia is novel, innovative and onerous. It is not altogether surprising, therefore, that events have not proceeded as smoothly as had been originally hoped. None the less, the progress that has been made in the fulfilment of the Paris Agreements and the Council's earlier resolutions on Cambodia is, New Zealand believes, significant and, as is reflected in the resolution we have just adopted, should be endorsed by the Security Council.

New Zealand welcomes the fact that all Council members have voted in favour of the resolution and that there is therefore general agreement on the situation now prevailing in Cambodia and on the steps to be taken to move the peace process ahead. The key elements in the resolution, as we see them, are: the momentum towards the elections, which has already been demonstrated in the gains that have been made in the implementation of the peace process, must be maintained; the obligation upon UNTAC and all the Cambodian parties to ensure that the election campaign is conducted in a neutral political environment, with fair access to the media by all parties; the complete cessation by all Cambodian parties of acts of violence, threats and intimidation, as well as offensive military activity; the necessity that the elections be free and fair and certified as such by the United Nations; the recognition that it is the Cambodians themselves who bear the real responsibility for the peace process and their future, including the preparation of a constitution and the subsequent establishment of a Government for all Cambodia; and it is axiomatic that the safety and security of UNTAC personnel must be respected - UNTAC personnel must be permitted to perform their mandate without interference.

(The President)

For New Zealand, the unanimity of the Council in the adoption of this resolution is a reaffirmation that the peace process for Cambodia has the full support of the international community which this Council represents. That is a timely contribution that the United Nations Security Council can offer towards the success of the elections that are to be held in May and the formation of the Cambodian Government which is to follow.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 4.35 p.m.

UNITED
NATIONS

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Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/PV.3181/Corr.1
9 March 1993

ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-FIRST MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Monday, 8 March 1993, at 4.05 p.m.

President:	Mr. O'BRIEN	(New Zealand)
Members:	Brazil	Mr. SARDENBERG
	Cape Verde	Mr. JESUS
	China	Mr. CHEN Jian
	Djibouti	Mr. OLHAYE
	France	Mr. LADSOUS
	Hungary	Mr. ERDOS
	Japan	Mr. HATANO
	Morocco	Mr. SNOUSSI
	Pakistan	Mr. MARKER
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	Spain	Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Ms. ALBRIGHT
	Venezuela	Mr. ARRIA

Corrigendum

Cover page should read as above

93-85416 0135V (E)

UNITED
NATIONS

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Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/PV.3182
12 March 1993

ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-SECOND MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 12 March 1993, at 5.40 p.m.

President:	Mr. O'BRIEN	(New Zealand)
Members:	Brazil	Mr. SARDENBERG
	Cape Verde	Mr. JESUS
	China	Mr. CHEN Jian
	Djibouti	Mr. DORANI
	France	Mr. LADSOUS
	Hungary	Mr. ERDOS
	Japan	Mr. HATANO
	Morocco	Mr. BENJELLOUN-TOUIMI
	Pakistan	Mr. MARKER
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	Spain	Mr. YAÑEZ-BARNUEVO
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mr. WALKER
	Venezuela	Ms. TRUJILLO

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93-85447 0141V (E)

The meeting was called to order at 5.40 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN ANGOLA

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Angola, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Van Dunem "Mbinda" (Angola) took a place at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/25399, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to the following documents: S/25271, letter dated 9 February 1993 from the Permanent Representative of Angola to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; S/25236, letter dated 3 February 1993 from the Permanent Representative of Argentina to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General; document S/25304, letter dated 17 February 1993 from the

(The President)

Permanent Representative of Denmark to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General; and S/25389 and S/25390, letters dated 9 March 1993 from the Permanent Representative of Angola to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that that is the case.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

Before putting the draft resolution to the vote, I shall call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. SARDENBERG (Brazil): Since this is the first time, Sir, that my delegation has spoken under your presidency in a formal session of the Security Council, let me start by extending to you our congratulations on your assumption of this high office. The work of the Council, since the first days of the month, bears clear testimony to your intelligence and diplomatic skills. Let me also express the gratitude of my delegation to Ambassador Ahmed Snoussi of Morocco for the most competent and professional manner in which he conducted the business of the Council in February.

Yesterday, members of the Council had the opportunity to hear from Mrs. Margaret Anstee, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Angola, a poignant report on the dire situation prevailing in that country, including the hardship faced by the provisionally limited United Nations personnel in the field, to which Brazil is proud to contribute. I wish to take this opportunity to wholeheartedly commend the admirable efforts of Mrs. Anstee, as well as the personal courage and untiring dedication she has shown under extremely trying conditions.

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

It is with a sense of deep distress that the Brazilian Government and people have ben following the appalling deterioration of the situation in Angola. Some five months ago, the high hopes of the international community for a successful completion of the transition to democracy in that sister country were shattered by the refusal of UNITA to accept the results of the democratic elections held on 29 and 30 September 1992. The subsequent resumption of the fighting by UNITA brought back horrors and fears that the Angolan people had hoped were left behind for good.

Such a chain of events was all the more deplorable because, by that time, warranted by an impressive level of commitment on the part of the United Nations, there seemed to be bright prospects for the future of Angola, in the wake of an electoral process marked by a clear display of enthusiasm and civic spirit by the Angolan people.

Unfortunately, where there was once hope we find today a bleak picture. To the rejection of the electoral results, UNITA added a long list of misdeeds, including the failure to take part in the new political institutions established in Angola, the unwillingness to engage in serious negotiations with the Government, the withdrawal from the unified Armed Forces, the seizure by force of municipalities and the resumption of hostilities, bringing the country virtually back to a state of civil war.

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

On top of that list, UNITA failed to send a delegation to the meeting which had been scheduled to be held last month in Addis Ababa, under the auspices of the United Nations, in spite of the assurances provided by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and the observer States to the peace process. The Security Council will not fail strongly to condemn those acts, in accordance with the draft resolution before us.

Although absent from the spotlight of the international media, the suffering of the Angolan people - described by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General as the "forgotten tragedy" - has reached an unbearable dimension. Their cry for help cannot go on unheeded. As the Secretary-General has pointed out, a humanitarian tragedy of grave dimensions is developing in Angola. The international community is duty bound to provide the humanitarian relief so desperately needed, and to render the legitimate Government of Angola appropriate assistance for the enormous task of national reconstruction and development.

Against such a tragic backdrop, the role of the United Nations in Angola is possibly more crucial than ever before. Brazil looks forward to an in-depth discussion on the future of such a role as soon as possible, in time for the Council to devise the appropriate line of action before 30 April, with a view to the strengthening and much needed readjustment of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II (UNAVEM II).

The completion of the implementation of the "Acordos de Paz" is, and should remain, the paramount objective in addressing the situation in Angola. Those agreements, if fully respected, provide the indispensable foundation upon which it will be possible to attain the long overdue pacification of the country and the unimpeded functioning of its democratic institutions.

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

To this end, it is essential, as stressed in the draft resolution, that UNITA accept unreservedly the results of the democratic elections of last September and engage in meaningful negotiations with the Government of Angola.

For its part, the Security Council ought to remain ready promptly to reassess the situation as required, in order to consider what further measures will be needed in order to ensure the restoration of the peace process and secure the full implementation of the "Acordos de Paz".

Linked to Angola by strong bonds of a historical and cultural nature, Brazil has been actively engaged in the efforts aimed at reaching a peaceful, democratic and sustainable solution to the internal conflict in that country, a conflict which has already inflicted too heavy a toll on our Angolan sisters and brothers on the other shore of the South Atlantic Ocean.

Brazil will continue to contribute to the best of its ability to the United Nations efforts towards Angola, and to provide its fullest support to the Angolan Government and people in their struggle for a better future.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Brazil for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. JESUS (Cape Verde): I am pleased to see you presiding over our deliberations this month, Sir, I am sure your personal and professional qualities will be of immense value - and have been of immense value already - in helping the Council cope with the important issues on its agenda.

I should like to pay tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Snoussi of Morocco, for the good work done during his presidency last month.

The deterioration of the situation in Angola is a cause of great concern to my Government. The resumption of hostilities since the elections last September has caused great damage to the country and killed thousands. We

(Mr. Jesus, Cape Verde)

believe that the use of violence and military means to solve the Angolan conflict is not a viable alternative. Only a peaceful solution of this conflict can bring stability and lasting peace to Angola.

It is therefore important that serious efforts be made to restore the dialogue between the Government and UNITA with a view to facilitating the full implementation of the "Acordos de Paz". We appreciate the many attempts by the United Nations to facilitate the dialogue between the two parties. We encourage the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to continue their efforts to bring the two parties together so that they can resume their dialogue.

In this context we are glad to note the emphasis put by the draft resolution before the Council on the need urgently to restore the dialogue between the Government and UNITA. We sincerely hope that with the assistance of the Secretary-General the present hostilities will soon come to a halt, to allow for negotiations conducive to the full implementation of the peace accords and to the reformulation and extension of the mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II (UNAVEM II).

We pay our most sincere tribute to Miss Anstee, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Angola, as well as to all UNAVEM staff members, for their commitment and dedication to the cause of peace in Angola. We particularly admire the courage with which they have been carrying our their mission under difficult and dangerous circumstances. We reiterate our full confidence and support for the highly commendable work they have been doing on behalf of the United Nations. We call on all those involved to take all necessary steps to ensure the safety of all UNAVEM personnel and to discontinue the objectionable practice of harassment and kidnapping of UNAVEM personnel.

(Mr. Jesus, Cape Verde)

The Angolan people have suffered for too many years, and now need peace to rebuild their shattered lives and their country. That is why we are concerned about reports and allegations of foreign intervention in the conflict. We call on all States to abstain from any action that might fuel the conflict and further aggravate the situation.

We are also concerned about the humanitarian situation in Angola, which seems to have reached a critical point; according to reports received from the field, the humanitarian situation is about to reach tragic dimensions. We call on all Member States and United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations to accord, or increase, humanitarian assistance to the Government of Angola to cope with the humanitarian needs of the population of Angola.

We sincerely expect a breakthrough - an early breakthrough - in the efforts aimed at the resumption of dialogue between the Government and UNITA. The assistance of the United Nations seems to be vital in this regard. But the political will of the two parties is a sine qua non condition for any success in this respect.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Cape Verde for his kind words addressed to me.

I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/25399.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Brazil, Cape Verde, China, Djibouti, France, Hungary, Japan, Morocco, New Zealand, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela

The PRESIDENT: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has therefore been adopted unanimously as resolution 811 (1993).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. VORONTSOV (Russian Federation) (interpretation from Russian): There is great concern in Moscow over the most recent turn of events in Angola. The country has been virtually plunged into civil war again.

In accordance with the Lisbon Agreements and resolutions of the Security Council, Russia, as an observer of the settlement process, together with the United States and Portugal, has made and is continuing to make efforts to halt the bloodshed in the country.

However, UNITA is continuing to violate the provisions of the "Acordos de Paz para Angola", refusing to recognize the results of the elections held in September 1992, refusing to join the political institutions established on the basis of those elections and refusing to engage in constructive negotiations with the Government of Angola. UNITA, dissociating itself from the new armed forces of the country, has by force seized administrative centres and towns in the provinces.

The military actions of UNITA attest to the stubborn unwillingness of the political opposition, headed by Mr. Savimbi, to accept its defeat in the elections, which were recognized by the United Nations as free and fair. It is obvious that UNITA is attempting to nullify the democratically made decision by military action and trying to assert its power in the country by force of arms. This opens sombre prospects of mass violence and terror in Angola and threatens the territorial integrity of that country.

In this situation Russia believes it necessary that the United Nations Security Council should take steps aimed at returning events in that country to a peaceful course. The Security Council must bring all of its authority to bear in order to ensure the implementation of its previous decisions, in particular as concerns the adoption of measures in respect of the side that has been recognized as responsible for the breakdown of a political settlement

(Mr. Yorgotsov, Russian Federation)

in Angola. We cannot allow the role of the United Nations and of its representatives in Angola to be called into question or subjected to attacks.

We firmly reject those attacks and wish to emphasize that the selfless efforts of Miss Margaret Anstee, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, and all the personnel of the United Nations Mission in Angola deserve the highest esteem and gratitude of the international community.

We believe that the legitimate Government of Angola and UNITA can and must return to constructive dialogue. If this does not happen, the international community will have to give comprehensive support to the Government of Angola, including, if needed, the provision of all necessary assistance.

In our approach to the events in Angola, the time has come when the international community must immediately demonstrate responsibility and firmness in dealing with those forces which are ignoring the resolutions of the Security Council, and to that end, use must be made of every means available to individual States for exerting influence on UNITA. It is necessary to ensure the total international isolation of the violator of the agreements. The time for delay and futile manoeuvring has passed. Angolans can be saved from further suffering only through united action based on democratic principles. A breakdown of the peace process in Angola will pose the danger of an exacerbation of destabilizing processes in other parts of the region as well.

Accordingly, the Russian Federation has supported the Security Council's resolution and expresses the hope that implementation of its provisions will make it possible to bring events in Angola back to the course of concluding a peaceful settlement and promoting the development and reconstruction of the country.

Mr. LADSOUS (France) (interpretation from French): Since the Security Council adopted resolution 804 (1993) last 29 January, the situation in Angola has seriously deteriorated, characterised by an intensification of fighting and a worsening of the humanitarian situation. Moreover, efforts to resume the political dialogue between the Angolan Government and UNITA have been unsuccessful to date. The French Government has followed these developments with great concern.

In the face of the extremely worrisome situation now prevailing in Angola, we consider that the international community and, in particular, the United Nations, which has contributed greatly to the peace efforts, cannot give up. Accordingly, my delegation reiterates its full support for the action of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Miss Maragaret Anstee, who is continuing to carry out her mission in extremely difficult conditions, sparing no effort to find the means to bring about a halt to hostilities, a resumption of dialogue and the continued implementation of the Bicesse Accords.

Such goals cannot be met without the cooperation of the parties. In this connection, we keenly regret that the second meeting planned to take place in Addis Ababa between the Angolan Government, on the one hand, and UNITA, on the other, could not take place because of the absence of a delegation from the latter. We join in the Council's appeals that dialogue be resumed and that all the commitments made under the Bicesse Accords, which remain the basis for the settlement in Angola, be honoured. It is equally important that the inadmissible verbal and physical attacks against the personnel of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II) cease immediately.

The French Government noted with great interest the information and ideas that Miss Anstee shared yesterday with members of the Security Council. It

(Mr. Ladsous, France)

noted in particular the Secretary-General's proposal for organizing, under his auspices, a meeting of the two parties at the highest level. This proposal should help us to break the deadlock, and we support it. In the same spirit, we await with great interest the recommendations the Secretary-General will submit to us regarding the future role of the United Nations in the peace process in Angola.

For all these reasons, my delegation supported the draft resolution before us. We are pleased that the Council has adopted it unanimously, thereby demonstrating its determination to continue to support a settlement of the conflict besetting Angola, despite difficulties and disappointments.

Mr. WALKER (United States of America): The United States continues to watch with grave concern the deteriorating situation in Angola. Over the past months, when Angola rightfully should have been taking the first steps down a fully democratic path, its citizens have been faced instead with a bitter war and a resulting humanitarian tragedy of growing proportions.

All sides have acknowledged that the conflict cannot and will not be resolved on the battlefield. Nevertheless, the war continues with ever greater intensity. Since the end of January, the last time face-to-face talks were held, thousands, maybe tens of thousands, have died. Thousands more have been injured or displaced, and those facing urgent food and medical needs may number in the millions.

We continue to believe that dialogue between the two parties is the only way out for Angola. To offer any real hope for peace, such dialogue must be undertaken urgently, without preconditions, by authoritative delegations committed to the Bicesse Accords and to national reconciliation. The United States, in cooperation with our troika partners, Portugal and Russia,

(Mr. Walker, United States)

continues to support United Nations efforts to bring the two sides together to that end.

In that regard, the failure of UNITA to participate in last month's scheduled round of talks in Addis Ababa was deeply disappointing. But as this resolution demonstrates, the international community does not have infinite patience.

(Mr. Walker, United States)

The party which continues to violate the Peace Accords, refuses to engage in serious dialogue and appears to rely on a military solution will find itself held responsible for a conflict which takes Angola farther away from realizing its democratic aspirations.

From the beginning of the peace process, the role of the international community has been crucial in Angola. Now, in addition to pursuing all avenues for negotiations, the international community must do everything possible to keep from fuelling the fires of an already-raging civil conflict. We reiterate our strong support for the Secretary-General and particularly for his Special Representative, Margaret Anstee, in her tireless pursuit of peace in Angola. We urge the parties, and particularly UNITA, to demonstrate an equally firm and urgent commitment to that goal.

Mr. CHEN Jian (China) (interpretation from Chinese): Nearly two years have passed since the signing of the Peace Accords by the Government of Angola and UNITA and the establishment of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II (UNAVEM II) by the United Nations in May 1991. Over the past two years, thanks to the joint efforts of the United Nations, the international community and the parties concerned in Angola, important progess has been made in the Angola peace process. In September last year a general election was held in Angola under the supervision of the United Nations. And it seemed that peace was dawning in Angola.

Unfortunately, after the general election last year, UNITA refused to recognize the results of the election and carried out military manoeuvres. The situation in Angola thus deteriorated again. Large-scale armed conflicts reoccurred, bringing serious reversals in the peace process there. It is especially worrying to see the recent fierce military conflicts in Huambo,

(Mr. Chen Jian, China)

which have led to an unprecedentedly high number of casualties and a sharp increase in displaced persons. At the moment, Angola is faced with a grave danger of an all-round civil war. At the same time, the personnel of UNAVEM II are under frequent attacks and threats and its work is seriously hampered. The Chinese delegation wishes to express its deep concern over these developments.

In order to promote the political settlement of the Angola dispute, with the support of the international community, the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Ms. Anstee, have made arduous endeavours under extremely difficult conditions. The Chinese delegation would like to express its appreciation for their efforts. At this crucial juncture of the Angola peace process, we support the Secretary-General and the United Nations in bringing the peace process in Angola back to the normal track. At present, the most important thing is to effect an immediate cease-fire and resume peace negotiations with a view to achieving comprehensive implementation of the Peace Accords. We urge the two Angola parties to resume negotiations promptly and unconditionally under the auspices of the United Nations. We are in favour of the Secretary-General's arranging a meeting between the leaders of the Angola Government and UNITA at an appropriate time.

China sincerely wishes to see the early realization of peace in Angola, recognizing that lasting peace in Angola can be finally achieved only by the Angola people themselves. It is shortsighted for any side to seek temporary victory on the battlefield. A political solution through negotiations is the only alternative in the Angola question. We hope that the conflicting parties in Angola will put the fundamental interests of the Angola people first,

(Mr. Chen Jian, China)

earnestly implement the Peace Accords and realize national reconciliation so that their country will embark on the road of peace and reconstruction at an early date.

Mr. ERDOS (Hungary) (interpretation from French): I should like to congratulate you, Sir, on the positive and very dynamic work you are doing as President of the Security Council for March. Also, I cannot fail to recall the excellent leadership that Ambassador Ahmed Snoussi of Morocco gave the Council last month, thanks to his great competence.

Just a few weeks ago, the Security Council adopted resolution 804 (1993). It already reflected the international community's grave concern at the dangerous deterioration of the political and military situation in Angola. It highlighted the crisis confronting the United Nations operation in that country. At the same time, it offered proof of the Council's continued determination not to resign itself to that situation and to do everything possible to halt and reverse the tragic direction that events in Angola had taken.

Despite the glimmer of hope evoked by the resumption of contacts between the two Angolan parties, it must be noted that the country has been replunged into a traumatic situation, the most serious situation since the launching of the civil war more than a decade and a half ago. Furthermore, there is developing in that country a humanitarian disaster the dimensions of which increasingly remind us of the Bosnian and Somali tragedies and which must be dealt with without delay.

Nor can we lose sight of the devastating impact such a turn of events in Angola can have on regional and world developmenmts. We cannot disregard the negative influence such developments can have on the credibility of the United

(Mr. Erdos, Hungary)

Nations and of the democratic process in general. Thus, the time has come to refuse to be indifferent to these tragedies and to move to resolute action in Angola. To that end, we must first and foremost analyse the situation and point out the true causes of the deterioration, which will then enable us to find a solution commensurate with the requirements of the situation.

In reading the resolution we have just adopted, we see clearly that the Council has acted in an appropriate way by squarely establishing UNITA's responsibility for the situation and by, at the same time, encouraging the two parties to meet very soon at all the appropriate levels. It seems clear to us that if the situation continues to deteriorate, the Council will have to take the measures that will be deemed necessary. We feel that that is one of the most important messages of the resolution the Council has just adopted today.

We cannot pass over in silence the accusations - which we reject - against the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and the UNAVEM personnel, to whom we pay a tribute for the activities they are undertaking in extremely difficult conditions in order to relaunch the peace process and carry out their mandate under the Angola Peace Accords.

We are eagerly awaiting the Secretary-General's report on the situation in Angola and his recommendations concerning the larger and more substantial role the United Nations could play in this process. It must be clear, however, that it is for the Angolans themselves to decide the fate of their country. To that end, it is incumbent upon them to establish urgently the conditions necessary for the resumption of dialogue and contacts among them.

(Mr. Erdos, Hungary)

Security Council resolution 811 (1993) is evidence of the international Organization's commitment to assisting the Angolans, on the basis of the provisions of the Peace Accords for Angola and the result of the elections held in September last, to restore peace and ensure the democratic development of their country.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Hungary for the kind words he addressed to me. There are no further names on the list of speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 6.20 p.m.

UNITED NATIONS

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Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/PV.3183
12 March 1993

ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-THIRD MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York, on Friday, 12 March 1993, at 6.30 p.m.

President:	Mr. O'BRIEN	(New Zealand)
Members:	Brazil	Mr. SARDENBERG
	Cape Verde	Mr. JESUS
	China	Mr. CHEN Jian
	Djibouti	Mr. DORANI
	France	Mr. LADSOUS
	Hungary	Mr. ERDOS
	Japan	Mr. HATANO
	Morocco	Mr. BENJELLOUN-TOUIMI
	Pakistan	Mr. MARKER
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	Spain	Mr. YAÑEZ-BARNUEVO
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mr. WALKER
	Venezuela	Mr. BIVERO

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The meeting was called to order at 6.30 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION CONCERNING RWANDA

LETTER DATED 4 MARCH 1993 FROM THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES A.I OF THE PERMANENT MISSION OF RWANDA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/25363)

LETTER DATED 4 MARCH 1993 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF FRANCE TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/25371)

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Rwanda, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Munyampeta (Rwanda) took a place at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in response to the requests contained in letters dated 4 March 1993 addressed to the President of the Security Council from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Rwanda to the United Nations, document S/25363, and the Permanent Representative of France to the United Nations, document S/25371.

(The President)

Members of the Council have before them document S/25400, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of the Council to the following documents: S/25355, letter dated 28 February 1993 from the Permanent Representative of Rwanda to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council;S/25356, letter dated 22 February 1993 from the Permanent Representative of Uganda to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; and S/25385, note verbale dated 8 March 1993 from the Permanent Mission of Rwanda to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.

Members of the Council have received photocopies of a letter dated 10 March 1993 from the Permanent Representative of Senegal to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General, which will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/25401.

The first speaker on my list is the representative of Rwanda, on whom I now call.

Mr. MUNYAMPETA (Rwanda) (interpretation from French): I first congratulate you, Sir, on having assumed your lofty post and responsibilities. I also congratulate Ambassador Snoussi of Morocco, who so ably discharged those responsibilities last month.

May I also, on behalf of the Government and people of Rwanda, thank you, Sir, and the other members of the Council for allowing the delegation of Rwanda to speak in this august body.

(Mr. Munyampeta, Rwanda)

From 1 October 1990 to the present, the Government and the people of Rwanda have been the victims of a particularly atrocious war, one that jeopardizes peace and security in the African Great Lakes region. Despite the tireless efforts for peace made by the Rwandese Government, with the assistance of the States of the subregion and the Organization of African Unity, the war is still on, causing enormous human and material losses.

National and world opinion placed their hopes for peace in the negotiation process in Arusha, Tanzania, between the Rwandese Government and the Rwandese Patriotic Front; but we must now deplore the resumption of hostilities that began on the night of 7 and 8 February.

Many civilians are still being killed and others mutilated, not to speak of the thousands who have been displaced and are haunted by the sprectre of death. National and international public opinion are gravely concerned by the 1 million who have been displaced.

Please allow me to offer - if only briefly - a few examples of the atrocities committed that exacerbate the situation: calling farmers to a meeting before massacring them with machine-gun fire; shutting up scores of people in a house before killing them with grenades or explosives; disembowelling women and old people; shootings in displaced-persons camps; dismemberment, gouging out of eyes and cutting off of breasts; binding people hand and foot; and so on.

The Rwandese Government proposes to relocate those war refugees, estimated at a million, as mentioned above, in a neutral demilitarized zone. But if responsibility for the comprehensive care of those war refugees rests with the Rwandese Government, the same cannot be said for guaranteeing their safety, because of lack of human and material means. For this reason it is a

(Mr. Munyampeta, Rwanda)

humanitarian imperative that Rwanda be provided with a multi-purpose international force. This would assure the safety of the war refugees while also guaranteeing keeping the cease-fire.

Here and now, the Government and the people of Rwanda offer their deepest gratitude to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and to the members of the Security Council for the benevolent solicitude they have accorded Rwanda's request. In their hands are the fate and future of a nation in full-blown, pluralistic democracy, observing strict respect for human rights and the demands of the structural adjustment plan.

May the Rwandese nation's distress and its call for help be worthy of the compassion of the Security Council, the last hope for the triumph of reason over the arguments of the gun. Rwanda's hope lies in the draft resolution that the Security Council is about to adopt.

Democracy at gunpoint has never been seen to come about. Democracy at gunpoint, democracy for a privileged few, defies the noble ideas of the Charter of the United Nations, whose cornerstone and foundation are made of peace, security and development of humanity in solidarity.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Rwanda for his kind words.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that that is the case.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

Before putting the draft resolution to the vote, I shall call on those members of the Council who wish to make a statement before the voting.

Mr. BENJELLOUN-TOUIMI (Morocco) (interpetation from French): I should like, first of all to perform the pleasant duty of offering you, Mr. President, the congratulations of the delegation of the Kingdom of Morocco on your assumption of the presidency of the Council. We have the fullest confidence in your diplomatic abilities and your human qualities, and therefore your ability to direct the important and certainly challenging work of the Council. We should thus like to assure you of all our support and cooperation.

The resumption of fighting since 8 February of this year in Rwanda, where civil war has raged for more than two years, is a subject of great concern for my delegation, and even more so since the hostilities have already resulted in intolerable human, social and economic consequences. My delegation has reason to be concerned over tragic developments that could lead to a greater deterioration of the situation in that country, as we remember all too well the past and present horrors experienced by the people of the brotherly country of Somalia.

For this reason, I should like to offer the Secretary-General my delegation's gratitude for the swiftness with which he dispatched a goodwill mission to the region to look into the situation in situ; and we also offer him our thanks for the preliminary report on the latest developments in that strife-torn country.

Humanitarian organizations operating in Rwanda have drawn up an alarming balance sheet of the humanitarian situation prevailing in that country. According to their estimates, more than a million people have been displaced and more than one seventh of the population is without shelter. As a result of tribal massacres and the complete lack of security in the northern part of

(Mr. Benjelloun-Touimi, Morocco)

the country, which have resulted in the flight of the civilian population from combat zones, the number of displaced persons is growing every day.

My delegation is pleased at the result of the negotiations that took place in Dar-es-Salaam between the Kigali Government and the Rwandese Patriotic Front, which on 7 March 1993 resulted in an agreement on the modalities of the cease-fire which came into force on 9 March and the fate of displaced persons. This is, no doubt, a clear achievement on the way to a political solution to the Rwandese conflict. Hence we hope that the negotiations scheduled for next week in Arusha will produce positive results satisfactory to both parties. My delegation supports this process and ardently hopes that it will make it possible to resolve the questions still pending and lead to a comprehensive peace agreement as quickly as possible.

My country, then, cannot but be pleased at the spirit of cooperation that has prevailed in the Council for the purpose of achieving a consensus on the content of this resolution, which takes account of efforts made at the regional level and responds to the provisions of Chapter VI of the Charter of our Organization. My delegation, having taken an active part in the preparation of the text, will therefore vote in favour of it in the hope that the parties will comply with its provisions in good faith, for the good of their people and the future of their country.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Morocco for his kind words.

Mr. DORANI (Djibouti) (interpretation from French): I should like first to join preceding speakers in congratulating you, Sir, on your accession to the presidency of the Security Council. I wish to thank your predecessor, Ambassador Snoussi of Morocco on the excellent work he did in the Security Council last month and the remarkable way in which he presided over our meetings.

The deterioration of the situation in Rwanda is a threat to the peace and security of the region. That is why we supported the various requests for an immediate meeting of the Security Council to examine the means that could ensure, first and foremost, the cessation of fighting, thereby sparing that fraternal country further sorrow and suffering. The spectre of Somalia still haunts our minds.

Each time a conflict ends in Africa and achieves its initial solution through the beginning of dialogue, and therefore through understanding and tolerance, the delegation of Djibouti cannot but rejoice at this triumph: the triumph of frank, sincere and wise words over aggression and hatred - indeed, the triumph over weapons and, so to speak, the animal instinct.

The agreement recently concluded in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania, between the Government of Rwanda and the Patriotic Front, followed today by the adoption of the draft resolution before us, which seeks the strengthening of peace in Rwanda through the dispatch of an international force, demonstrates to the international community that the African States want no more of these wars - these wars that too often are imposed by internecine quarrels emanating above all from persons motivated by selfishness and chauvinism.

As the President of our Republic, El Hadj Hassan Ghouled Aptidon, said so rightly in September last before the African Group in New York:

(Mr. Dorani, Djibouti)

"It is true that the large amount of energy - whether in Africa or elsewhere - generated from national sentiments can be the best or the worst of things. When national sentiment degenerates into nationalism - that is, into a form of collective selfishness - and liberates a devastating force, as history and the events of the present day in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina have so well and so tragically demonstrated, I am deeply convinced that we Africans, like the Europeans or the European Community, could not only transcend national sentiments but also exorcise nationalistic demons thanks to a policy of integration in many areas."

The delegation of my country welcomes the dispatch by the Secretary-General of a good-offices mission to Rwanda. We also welcome the role played by the Organization of African Unity in the settlement of conflicts in Africa, particularly in Rwanda, through the dispatch of observers.

We express the wish that, in the implementation of this agreement - without, we hope, any obstacles - the Republic of Rwanda will regain the civil peace desired so much by its people and its Government.

I cannot conclude my statement without expressing my delegation's gratitude to France, which, through its initiative, contributed - in close cooperation with the Organization of African Unity, the African members of the Security Council, and indeed the caucus of non-aligned countries in the Council - to the preparation of a balanced text, which has gained the support of all the members of the Council.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Djibouti for the kind words he addressed to me.

(The President)

I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution in document S/25400.

A vote was taken by show of hands

In favour: Brazil, Cape Verde, China, Djibouti, France, Hungary, Japan, Morocco, New Zealand, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela

The PRESIDENT: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has therefore been adopted unanimously as resolution 812 (1993).

I shall now call on those representatives who have expressed the wish to make statements after the voting.

Mr. LADSOUS (France) (interpretation from French): Although there had been progress recently towards a political settlement of the conflict affecting Rwanda, the situation in that country once again greatly deteriorated because of the resumption of hostilities at the beginning of February. Since then, the continued fighting and the resulting further loss of life and material damage have seriously compromised that country's chances quickly to regain the path of peace and democracy and are gravely threatening the political stability of the region. If this situation continues, it could cause a very serious humanitarian crisis in Rwanda - indeed, already the number of refugees and displaced persons resulting from the conflict is over 1'million. It could also, as a consequence, engender an explosion that would certainly affect the neighbouring countries.

Faced with all those risks, the French Government felt that resolute action had to be taken to reach an effective and lasting cessation of the hostilities, to promote the intensification of humanitarian assistance actions

(Mr. Ladsous, France)

hostilities, to promote the intensification of humanitarian-assistance actions for the benefit of the civilian population, and to enable the peace efforts to continue. In this regard, we reiterate our full support for the process begun in Arusha, under the auspices of the Organization of African Unity, by the Government of Rwanda and the Rwandese Patriotic Front, as well as for the various agreements resulting from this process. France, which is present, with several other countries, as an observer at the Arusha negotiation, intends to continue to participate actively in the process.

But it should be emphasized that the chances of progress depend above all on the cooperation of the Rwandese parties. In this connection, the Government of France notes with satisfaction that those parties have not yet renounced dialogue, as is shown by the meeting held in Dar-es-Salaam from 5'to'7 March between the Government of Rwanda and the Rwandese Patriotic Front. Hence, it calls on the two parties to start implementing all the commitments they have undertaken, particularly those relating to the cessation of hostilities, which has been in effect since 9 March.

At the same time, we believe that the efforts by Rwandese to settle the conflict should be actively supported by the United Nations. That is, after all, the condition for their success. In that spirit, the French Government supported the request to convene the Security Council submitted by the Rwandese authorities. And it was also in that spirit that my country worked in close consultation with all the delegations concerned - particularly those of the African countries - in the preparation of the draft resolution that has just been adopted unanimously. In that text the Council invites the Secretary-General to examine urgently in consultation with the Organization of

(Mr. Ladsous, France)

African Unity (OAU) the contribution that the United Nations could bring to strengthening the peace process. This text is fully consistent with the approach of supporting the efforts of regional organizations that has guided our Council in several other cases.

The French Government welcomes the particular reference in the resolution to the possibility of a United Nations contribution in the fields of protection of the civilian population and respect for the cease-fire - if necessary, by the establishment of an international force. Those seem to us, indeed, to be the two areas for priority intervention, which should be stressed in order effectively to support the efforts to achieve a political settlement and, at the same time, to alleviate the suffering of the civilian populations. In this respect, France remains concerned over the violations of human rights committed by the two parties.

Similarly, it seems to us that the deployment of United Nations observers at the border between Rwanda and Uganda, as requested by those two countries, could contribute to creating a more peaceful climate in the region. Hence, we await with keen interest the recommendations that the Sectretary-General will submit to the Council on all these questions, on the basis particularly of the conclusions of the good-offices mission that he has been good enough to dispatch to the region.

(Mr. Ladsous, France)

In conclusion, please allow me to repeat how urgent it is to ensure that the combined energies of all concerned - the United Nations, the regional organizations and those of States and non-governmental organizations - be brought to bear to prevent in time the very serious risks to Rwanda and the entire region and to restore stability to this country. Faced with this urgent need, the Security Council could not but take action, and we are pleased that in adopting this resolution unanimously, it has shown its determination to help Rwanda and its population.

Mr. SARDENBERG (Brazil): Brazil has supported resolution 812 (1993) in the firm belief that it will contribute to a negotiated settlement of the conflict in Rwanda by the parties concerned, within the framework of the Arusha peace process.

In this regard, Brazil pays tribute to the Organization of African Unity (OAU), as well as to the countries in the region, for their efforts in promoting a negotiated political solution between the parties to the conflict.

It is now incumbent on the United Nations to examine, in close consultation with the OAU, how best our Organization can support these efforts with a view to strengthening the peace process in Rwanda, in particular through the possible establishment of an international force under the aegis of the OAU and the United Nations, in accordance with the agreement reached by the parties.

The responsibility for the achievement of a satisfactory settlement of all aspects of the conflict rests upon the parties themselves. The OAU and the countries in the region have an important role in facilitating and furthering the attainment of this goal. As provided in Article 52, paragraph 3 of the United Nations Charter:

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

"The Security Council shall encourage the development of pacific settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies either on the initiative of the states concerned or by reference from the Security Council."

A close cooperation between the United Nations and the OAU in the present situation in Rwanda, with due cognizance and respect for their respective roles, constitutes a good example of the constructive relationship that should exist between this universal body and regional organizations for the promotion of peace. It is the view of the Brazilian delegation that the terms of resolution 812 (1993), which we have just adopted, should be read by all parties concerned under that light.

The PRESIDENT: There are no further speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 7 p.m.